CHAPTER I

Introduction
1. INTRODUCTION

The Indian Diaspora is the third largest Diaspora, next only to the British and the Chinese in that order namely Indians/ People of Indian Origin (PIOs) or Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) are found in all continents. In Mauritius the people of Indian origin (PIOs) are the single largest ethnic group (60.69 percent), Guyana (51.93 percent), Fiji (41.34 percent), Trinidad and Tobago (38.63 percent), Surinam (36.04 percent), United Arab Emirates (32 percent), Reunion (30.51 percent) and Nepal (27.12 percent) form a substantial proportion of the country’s population. They have a large presence in Qatar (24 percent), Bahrain (20 percent), Oman (15 percent), Kuwait (13 percent), Malaysia (7.20 percent), Saudi Arabia (7 percent), Sri Lanka (6.28 percent), Singapore (5.40 percent), and Myanmar (5.26 percent) (MEA 2001:xvii-xx). Several other countries have significant presence of expatriate Indians or People of Indian Origin (PIOs) or Non-Resident Indians (NRIs).

Even though the history of Indian Diaspora dates back to the pre-Christian era, large-scale emigration of Indians took place mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries. The 19th and early part of the 20th centuries witnessed unprecedented emigration of indentured and other laborers, traders, professionals and employees of the British government, to the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. During the post-World War II period there was far-reaching emigration of Indians (mainly professionals) to the developed countries namely England, U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. During the oil boom in the 1970s and 1980s millions of Indians emigrated to the Gulf and West Asian countries.
An attempt is made here to present an overview of the globally dispersed Indians through a brief historical, demographic, socio-economic and political profile of the countries having significant presence of the expatriate Indians or People of Indian Origin (PIOs) or Non-resident Indians (NRIs). I have covered only those countries in some detail, which have more than 50,000 Indians People of Indian Origin (PIOs) or Non-resident Indians (NRIs) due to paucity of space.

Migration has become a world-wide phenomenon in recent years. Millions of people all over the world move out of their normal place of residence to seek their fortune elsewhere. In the past, military operations or political operations or political oppressions or religious persecution were the major causes of migrations of people to migrate places where the resources are many. The exact circumstances under which people migrate from time and place vary considerably. Migration is having far-reaching impact, not only on the migrants but also on the society at large both in the place of origin and destination.

Through migration from India to various South East Asian countries had taken place on various occasions in the ancient past, there was practically no such movement from India since the establishment of European hegemony in the 16th century. The induction of indentured labour to the plantation in the tropical countries on the abolition of slavery in the British empire resulted for the purpose of ensuring steady supply of labour in the growing number plantations in various tropical colonies (Davis, Kingsley, 1951). Starting with Mauritius the migration spread to Trinidad, Jamaica, British Guiana, South Africa, Fiji, Antilles, Reunion, Sri Lanka, Malaya and even Burma millions of people emigrated from different parts of India to the plantations in those countries through the overwhelming majority from U.P, Bihar, Kerala, Tamil and Telugu speaking districts of the erstwhile Madras Presidency.
1.1. Emigration From India During The Pre-Modern Period

Indians have a long history of emigration to other parts of the world. India’s links with West Asia date back to the 10th century BC with ships moving between the mouth of river Indus and the Persian Gulf. The Old Testament records of ivory, apes and peacocks used for decoration of the palaces and the temple of King Solomon. Even the queen of Sheba brought spices as gifts to king Solomon and the pepper of the Malabar coast was known to ancient traders (Abraham 1993: 269)\(^3\).

Fifty years after Buddha’s death (483 BC) his disciples went to the neighboring countries to spread Buddhism and settled there. The Mauryan Empire was spread upto the Hindukush Mountains. King Ashoka (268-239 BC) embraced Buddhism and sent monks to central and eastern Asia to spread the gospel of Buddha. For the first time, the whole of South Asia, and beyond, was brought under the influence of one unified political and religious system (Tinker 1977:7)\(^4\). King Kanishka (1\(^{st}\) century AD) was another champion of Buddhism. During his rule Buddhism spread to southern India, eastern Iran, Central Asia, China, Greece, Kandahar now in Afghanistan, Southeast Asia and Indonesia (Motwani, Jyoti 1993:33)\(^5\).

Indian settlements were in existence in the north-eastern Africa at the time of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC). Alexander was advised by Aristotle to establish a colony of Greeks in Sokotra Island off north-eastern Africa. The army of Alexander conquered the island in which the Indians were living (Pankhurst 1979)\(^6\). The famous work *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (a first century Greek guide for sailors) mentions that the Indian ships were arriving along the East African coast. Several Indian gold coins found at Dabra Damma, dating from the 3\(^{rd}\) century, have established the trade relations between Ethiopia and India.
"India had a long-standing mercantile connection with this part of the world as a part of the ancient network of the Indian Ocean. Geographical proximity facilitated by the monsoon winds made India for over two thousands years, a very important market for gold, ivory, and slaves and the most important source for cotton, cloth, beads and sundry manufactured articles" (Desai 1993:118). The Greek work also mentions India's trade relations with Rome, Malay and China. Arikanedu in Tamil Nadu was a Roman settlement where Muslim was made for exporting to Rome. It was also an enterport for ships to Malay and China and carrying Indian goods to Rome. Romila Thapar attributes Roman use of this port from the 1st century BC to the early 2nd century AD. The imports from India were luxury items like spices, jewels, textiles, parrots, peacocks and apes. Originally trade with Southeast Asia was caused by demand for spices which sent Indian merchants as middlemen to Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and Borneo which were a treasure-trove of various spices. Bigger trade developed with Indians settling in Southeast Asia with south Indian traders dominating the trade together with prominent merchants from Kalinga and Magadha. During this period trade with China also increased with the use of Chinese cloth and bamboo in India. The routing of China silk through the north-western towns Takshasila or Taxila and Broach added to the prosperity of north-western part of India. Thaper traces the colonisation of the Irrawady Delta in Burma and various parts of Java to the Kalingans, and the introduction of Indian culture in Cambodia to an Indian Brahmin named Kaundinya who married a Cambodian prince (Thapar 1966).

There were permanent settlements of Indian traders along the coast of East Africa. The other dominant trading community was of Arabs. Arabs developed Mogadishu and Mombasa as great trading centres. Indian traders, manufacturers and clove cultivators were
concentrated in Zanzibar Island. They were both Hindus mainly Vaishyas and Muslims i.e. Ismailis and Bohras.

The Venetian traveler Marco Polo has a word of praise for the Gujarati and Saurashtraian merchants on Africa's east coast whom he considers as “the best and most honorable that can be found in the world” (Travels of Marco Polo written in 1260 AD). Vasco de Gama touched East Africa on his historic voyage to India. He reached Malindi in 1497 AD and found Indian merchants in Mozambique, Kilwa and Mombasa. He hired a Gujarati mariner named Kanji to take him to the shore of India (Desai 1993; Samaroo 1994)9. The Indian traders had also settled in Aden and the Persian Gulf (Tinker 1977:2)10.

The abundance of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain that found its way to East Africa during the medieval period did so, for the most part, in Gujarati ships (Hatim 1983;).11. "Indian presence on the east African seaboard was quite substantial up to the beginning of the 16th century when the western maritime powers arrived in the Indian Ocean. The use of Indian system of weights and measures and of Indian cowries as currency, a great demand for Indian goods, all pointed to the fact that Indians were playing a key role in the area. However, there is nothing to indicate that they had penetrated into the interior or made contacts with its Bantu state systems". Indian traders, labours, adventurers and junior administrators took part in the Portuguese penetration into the interior (Desai 1993)12.

Buddhism was brought to China in the year AD 69. By the fifth century a large segment of Chinese population had embraced Buddhism. "An account written in AD 749 refers to the numerous merchants belonging to the Polomen, i.e. Brahmanas of India on the river of Canton. The same account refers to the three Brahmana
monasteries at Canton where Brahmanas were residing" (Motwani, Jyoti 1993:38)\(^\text{13}\).

India has more than two thousand years' history of cultural and commercial relations with Southeast Asia. Commercial relations have a longer history than cultural contacts. According to Brian Harrison, "...from at least the sixth century BC onwards Indian traders were sailing to those lands, and down through those islands, in search of gold and tin" (Harrison 1966:10)\(^\text{14}\).

The first civilised society in Burma, that of the Pyu and the Mon, was spread in the south. Its capital Srikshtra (Old Prome) was an Indian-style sacred city. The culture was Indian, and the script was borrowed from South India. This society was overthrown by the Burmese.

Java was colonised by the Hindus between the 1st and 7\(^{\text{th}}\) century. In the 7th century Javanese got converted to Hinduism and an elaborate Hindu culture had developed by the 10th century. The Hindu kingdom (8th-13th century) covered much of Indonesia. The Chola king Rajaraja the Great (AD 985-1018) conquered the entire South India and extended his hold over Ceylon. Under his son, Rajendra (AD 1018-35) the Chola power reached out to threaten the empire of Sri Vijaya in Java and Sumatra whose kingdom was founded in Sumatra before the 4th century AD. It rose to prominence towards the close of the 7th century AD. The Cholas were expelled from Ceylon in 1070 (Tinker 1977)\(^\text{15}\). Hindu kingdoms were formed in Java during the 5\(^{\text{th}}\) century AD (Majumdar 1988)\(^\text{16}\).

The people of Java came to share with the Indians their religions, languages, art and architecture, cultural mores, and legal and political ethos and forms (Arora 1982: 119)\(^\text{17}\). This area was exposed to "the
heaviest Indianization” (Wales 1951:195)\(^\text{18}\). Majority of the people of Bali Island still practice Hinduism.

Brahminical and Buddhist influences spread through the intervening culture areas to islands of Borneo as well as Mindanao and the Vaishyas in the Philippines. They gradually penetrated even to the northernmost island of Luzon. There are traces of Indic influences in the languages, literature and social customs in Philippines (Rye1982:144)\(^\text{19}\).

In Indo-China the kingdoms of Fu-nan, Champa, Kambujadesa (Kampuchea), Angkor and Laos were greatly influenced by the Indian culture and civilisation. From the beginning of the Christian era, the Indian merchants and adventurers, princes and priests, spread the Indian languages and literature, religion and philosophy, art and architecture, customs and manners in these countries, the deep imprint of which is visible even today. The Indian settlements had been widely spread all over the region by the beginning of the Christian era. Later they grew into small kingdoms. Within two to three hundred years nearly the whole of Indo-China and Indonesia, comprising Burma, Siam, Malay Peninsula, Cambodia and Annam in the mainland and the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes and perhaps many others were dotted over with such kingdoms (Majumdar 1985)\(^\text{20}\). Some of these kingdoms like those of Fu-nan and Champa grew very powerful. These contacts lasted for more than a thousand years (Reddi 1982:155)\(^\text{21}\).

Migration from India to the ancient and medieval states of Southeast Asia involved the limited but important movements of priests and traders. These people were not part of any massive wave of population movement. Instead, by their command of specialist knowledge, they came to fill vitally important roles in the emerging Southeast Asian states so as to implant firmly the Indian culture in Southeast Asia. In general, however, the Southeast Asian classical
world does not seem to have been one marked by large-scale voluntary migration. A limited but highly important number of Indians settled in the area and made their mark (Osborne 1979: 90)\textsuperscript{22}

Afghanistan had mainly Hindus and Buddhists and was ruled by the Hindu kings till the end of the 7th century when the Arabs conquered it and people embraced Islam. The Banjaras (Gypsies) migrated from India in the 10th century to several European countries. Their language Romani has a resemblance to Indian languages. It is spoken in widely varying dialects. "Romani is spoken by the descendants of a population which left India at the end of the first millennium AD and which made its way into Europe via Persia and the Byzantine Empire, arriving there some time during the thirteenth century. The identity of the first population, and the circumstances of their exodus have been the subject of scholarly debate since the 1780s. Late twentieth century research, some of it being undertaken in India, suggests strongly that the original population consisted of different Indo- Aryan descent particularly Dravidians and the Pratihara migrant population who had settled in India from north, out of whom were created Rajput armies to resist the Islamic incursions into India led by Mohammed Ghazni. As these armies moved further west, they were again caught up in, and displaced by, the spread of Islam as it overtook the Byzantine Empire. It was the westward movement which pushed the Romani population into Europe. The common name Gypsy, like Gitano in Spanish, originates in the misassumption that the population had come from Egypt" (Hancock 1993)\textsuperscript{23}.

The Gypsies are spread over in Europe. Their population in Europe was about 8 million in 1993 (New York Times, May 5,1993)\textsuperscript{24}. Of them 2.5 million lived in Rumania and 5 lakh in Hungary (Motwani 1994:3)\textsuperscript{25}. The Chettiyars who were bankers and traders of South India
and Ceylon from medieval times, gradually extended their activities to Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia and Mauritius (Tinker 1977:3)²⁵.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean the merchants of Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal looked to the east, to the Indonesian archipelago, for direct voyages organised with their own shipping and capital. From the 16th century the orientation was suddenly reversed and turned westwards, towards the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Hindu merchants were to be found all through the Middle East in the 17th and 18th centuries (Chaudhuri 1985:100)²⁷. The Sikh Empire was spread up to Peshawar and Khyber. The Gurkhas of Nepal carried out a sub-montane Himalayan Empire, which stretched from Darjeeling to Simla. The emigration that took place from India to various parts of the world did not result in any significant permanent settlements overseas. But the impact of religious ideologies of Buddhism and Hinduism left ever lasting influence in Southeast, East and South Asia.

1.2. Indian Emigration During The Colonial Period

Indian emigration during the 19th and the early 20th centuries to the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese colonies was unprecedented. The emigration of Indians during this period was a consequence of vast colonial expansion, especially by the British Empire. Indian emigration during this period was more than that of any country of which we have record. But large proportion of those who emigrated eventually returned. Two types of emigration that took place during this period. They are: firstly emigration of contract labourers under the 'indenture system' or 'Kangani' system; and secondly 'free' or 'passage' emigration of traders, clerks, bureaucrats and professionals.
1.3. Emigration of Contract Laborers

The British slave trade was abolished in 1807. The institution of slavery was abolished in the British Empire with the Act of Emancipation of 1834. In 1846 slavery was abolished in the French colonies, and in 1873 in the Dutch colonies. The emancipation of slaves in 1838 led to severe shortage of laborers working on sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, rice and rubber plantations in the colonies. The British colonists were impressed by the example of Latin American and Cuban colonists who had imported Chinese labourers from Macao, a Portuguese settlement, to work on their plantations (Campbell 1969)\textsuperscript{28}. Indians at that time were employed in public works-roads, harbours, offices and jails in various colonies and as slaves and convicted prisoners (Sandhu 1969: 132-140\textsuperscript{29}; Tinker 1974:44-46)\textsuperscript{30}.

The plantation owners world-wide succeeded in bringing pressure on the British colonial authorities in introducing the system of indentured Indian immigration based at Calcutta and Madras from 1834. Following the abolition of slavery in the French colonies in 1846 and the Dutch colonies in 1873 respectively, French and Dutch planters also reached agreements with British authorities in India to obtain laborers under the same system.

Indenture was a signed contract to work for a given employer for five years, performing the tasks assigned to him or her. During this period the labourer received a basic pay, accommodation, food rations and medical facilities. At the end of the five years, he or she was free to reindenture or to work elsewhere in the colony, and at the end of ten years, depending on the contract, he or she was entitled to a free or partly paid return passage to India or a piece of crown land in lieu of the fare (Jain, R.K 1993:6\textsuperscript{31}; Clarke 1990:8\textsuperscript{32}). The prospective emigrant had to testify before a magistrate that he understood the terms of the contract. Unscrupulous methods were used including lying, kidnapping
by the recruiting men to dupe ignorant country folk in order to get them to offer themselves for indenture (Jain, Prakash 1989:253; Gillion 1973:26). The work required from the indentured was strenuous and exacting, and the recruiters sought people who were young and physically fit. The indentured were very rarely more than thirty years old, and the vast majority were between twenty and twenty-five years. Before being allowed to embark each volunteer was medically examined, the unfit were rejected and a detailed report was submitted on those who were accepted. Jamaica, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, Guyana, Natal and Surinam governments had maintained emigration agencies in Calcutta and some in Madras as well. Majority of the recruits were young males and the females constituted less than 20% of the indenture labour force.

Although the Government of India, supported by the Colonial Office, stipulated that there should be forty women for every hundred men, ships often left India with less than this percentage (Geoghagan 1873:49). The shortage of women affected both indentured and free laborers (Samaroo 1987:30). This shortage of women led to sharing of women which amounted to legal prostitution (Andrews and Pearson 1916: 45-48). This led to frequent wife murders by the jealous husbands (British Guiana 1875-1894). Indian plantation life was demoralized and debilitated for many years (Tinker 1977:5). The increasing cost of Indian immigration was a major reason for the reluctance of the planters in importing women and children (Hill 1919).

The migrants essentially indentured as individuals. Emigration of family units or caste groups or village communities was rare (Jain, Ravindra 1993:6). The number of persons migrated, the colonies and the period of emigration have been recorded. Under the indenture system some 1.5 million persons migrated. The indenture system was terminated in 1917 due to the anti-indentureship campaign led by Indian
nationalists. The Viceroy Lord Hardinge (1910-1916), a liberal and humanitarian administrator, took the decision to end indentureship.

Another system prevalent to get the contract labour mainly to the tea plantations of Ceylon and the rubber plantations of Malaysia was Kangani system. The word Kangani is an anglicised form of the Tamil word Kankani meaning overseer or foreman. The Kanganis were Indians who were employed by the plantation owners to recruit labourers in India. Kanganis were men with some capital who advanced money to the prospective coolies for travelling and settling down on a plantation (Jain, Ravindra 1970:199)\textsuperscript{42}. The Maistry system used to acquire labourers for plantations in Burma was more or less similar to the Kangani system except that the former was characterised by a gradation of middlemen-employers i.e the labour contractor, the head Maistry, the charge Maistry and the gang Maistry. In contradiction to indentured labourers, coolies under these systems were largely free. There was no contract and no fixed period of service (Jain, Prakash 1989:162)\textsuperscript{43}. During the period 1852 and 1937, 1.5 million Indians went to Ceylon, 2 million to Malaysia and 2.5 million to Burma (Davis 1951:104)\textsuperscript{44}. Since these colonies were situated not far from India, majority of the migrants returned home after serving as plantation labourers. After 1920 the Kangani emigration gradually gave way to individual or unrecruited migration due to fall in demand for Indian labour. The Sastri Report of 1936 brought about the formal abolition of Kangani plantation recruiting (Thompson 1943:122)\textsuperscript{45}.

1.4. Areas of Origin

Most of the indentured migrants came from the states of Bihar and United Provinces i.e today's Uttar Pradesh. All the Kangani and Maistry labourers and a small proportion of indentured labourers came from the Tamil and the Telugu speaking areas of Madras Presidency.
1.5. Religious and Caste Composition

It is possible to know the religious and caste composition based on the Calcutta Emigration Reports. Among the labourers 86 percent were Hindus, and 14 percent were Muslims (Saha 1970:34)⁴⁸. Muslims' proportion among traders and administrators was considerable. Sikhs immigrated to East Africa as indentured labourers initially to lay the Kenya-Uganda railway line. Later they migrated as traders, policemen and army men (Clarke 1990:11)⁴⁷.

Among the Hindus 16 percent belonged to upper castes, 32 percent belonged to agricultural intermediate castes and the rest to lower castes and untouchable castes (Smith 1959)⁴⁹.

1.6. Migration in 20th Century

From the turn of the 20th century, since the migration to West Indies and Mauritius reached a saturation point, it turned towards mainly to Sri Lanka and Malaya to work in the Tropical plantations. All these migrants consisted of agricultural workers. A large number of semi-skilled workers who were recruited from North Western India, were sent to East African colonies for the construction of railways. (C.F.Andrews. 1930)⁴⁹.

The twentieth century emigration from India took place mainly to the developed countries in North America, Europe, Oceania and West Asia. This was mainly a post-Second World War phenomenon. Phenomenal changes in the political and economic scenario of the receiving and sending countries led to their new wave of international migration. There was a shift during this period in the direction and magnitude of international migration and composition of the migrants. The history of emigration from India and other Asian countries to the four English speaking developed countries namely, the United States of
America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, has been similar. During the mid 19th century there was a substantial migration of Chinese gold diggers to the gold fields of California, British Columbia, the east coast of Australia and the west coast of New Zealand. This led to white agitation in all the four countries, which ultimately led to restrictions on their immigration by the late 1880s. During the period 1897-1924 legislations were enacted in these countries to prevent the Asian immigration. The restrictions were in force until the 1950s and the 1960s. During this period the chief flows to these countries were from Europe. An important turning point occurred during the early 1960s marking the beginning of a new phase. In the 1960s in these countries the restrictions were removed and Asians were allowed to immigrate. Today Asians constitute an appreciable visible minority in all these four countries (Price 1987:175)⁵⁰.

Even though emigration of Indians to the United Kingdom has a history of about three hundred years, large-scale emigration of Indians and People of Indian Origin (PIOs) from various British colonies took place only during the post-World War II period.

The Netherlands received People of Indian Origin (PIOs) mainly from its former colony Suriname on the eve of its Independence in 1975. A brief profile of the Indians in these countries is provided here.

1.7. The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has a large population of people of Indian origin i.e 1.2 million in 2001, constituting 2.10 percent of the country’s population (MEA 2001: xvii-xx)⁵¹. Two-thirds of Indians living in Europe are in the United Kingdom. The Indian population has been part of Britain for almost 300 years. During the period of the Raj, Indians were seamen, domestic servants, politicians, barristers, doctors and social
celebrities (Visram 1986)⁵². Prior to the 1950s Indians in Britain were a middle-class group with a preponderance of doctors (Kondapi 1951)⁵³, students (Kanitkar 1972)⁵⁴ and international businessmen (Desai 1963)⁵⁵. However, emigration to the United Kingdom started in the 1950s. Between 1955 and 1962, 146,300 Indian and Pakistani workers entered Britain, the timing of their migration being influenced by the varying fortunes of the UK's economy (Robinson 1990)⁵⁶. Those who migrated were construction or dockyard Workers. During the early years of immigration males outnumbered females, the ratio being 3:2 or 5:3 (Tinker 1977:165)⁵⁷. However in 1962, the British government imposed restrictions on unskilled labour migration, which fundamentally altered both the nature of South Asian migration and the permanence of resulting settlement. Migration was increasingly of female dependants and for marriage, and South Asian settlement became more permanent and family oriented. During the 1960s and the 1970s large number of Indians emigrated to the UK from East Africa. One out of every four of the Indians and the Pakistani in Britain has arrived via East Africa. In the late 1970s according to Yash Tandon there were more than 200,000 Asians from East Africa in Britain (Tandon 31)⁵⁸. Considerable East Asian migrants with capital started commercial enterprises in Britain. Britain also has a small number of East Indians from the Caribbean, Mauritius and South Africa.

The population of Asians living in Britain after the World War II was 7,000. During the next thirty years the Asian population grew a hundred folds. The number of immigrants was highest during the decade 1960-70. In all 196,395 Indians i.e 107,190 males and 89,205 females and 53,835 Kenyan Asians i.e 28,900 males and 24,935 females emigrated (Tinker 1977:169)⁵⁹. The size of the immigrants during the 1950s was small. About 47,500 persons from India i.e 30,500 males and 17,000 females and 14,500 from Pakistan i.e 12,800
males and 1,700 females emigrated to Britain during the 1950s (Tinker 1977:167)⁶⁰. The early migrants were mainly Sikhs. The later migrants were mainly Gujaratis and Punjabis. The Indians and the other Asians were absorbed mainly in the older labour intensive industries.

In the Indian community 57 percent male workers were on manual work. The remainder of the Indians was found in a broad band of occupations: 6.6 percent being employers or managers, 10.5 percent being professional people, 18.9 percent shop assistants and office workers, and 2.4 percent serving in the armed forces (Tinker 1977:176)⁶¹. A high proportion of Indian women also work in various industries.

Since the late 1960s Indians are being employed in banks, department stores, insurance companies etc. Many Indian doctors are employed in hospitals. Their occupational distribution is now closer to that of the white British population. Indians are concentrated in the London Area and in the Southeast.

"The shift to a post-industrial society has strengthened the position of certain Asians who are clearly members of upwardly mobile and increasingly affluent 'new' class, which some commentators feel now exists. Other South Asians have not been so fortunate. They have seen their already weak position progressively undermined by social and economic change. For them, the post-industrial future is bleak, caught as they are on the wrong end of a new international division of labour in a country that does not care" (Robinson 1990: 194)⁶².

1.8. The Netherlands

The Netherlands has the second largest population of the people of Indian origin in Europe. In 2000 the population of the people of Indian origin was 200,000 which was 1.2 percent of the country's population
(MEA 2001). In 1969 their population was only 1,500. The event that suddenly increased the population of people of Indian origin in The Netherlands was the grant of independence to the colony of Suriname in the Caribbean in 1975. The Independence Act of Surinam provided for the emigration of Surinamese to The Netherlands before the transfer of power. The Indian community was a prosperous business community on the eve of Independence. A series of incidents of assaults to life and property provoked the Indians to immigrate to The Netherlands. The increasing employment opportunities in The Netherlands were an incentive for them to migrate (Gupta 1994). More than one-third of the Surinamese of Indian origin took advantage of the Independence legislation and flew to The Netherlands in 1974-75 and later. Most of them are concentrated in the large cities of Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam are playing an important role in the economic and social life of the country. A small number of people immigrated to The Netherlands during the post Second World War period i.e about 3,500. They are mainly concentrated in educational institutions, medicine, law, business houses, hospitals and other service industries (Mahavir 1993: 417).

1.9. The United States of America

Emigration from India to the United States of America dated from the year 1820. During the period 1820 to 1890 about 700 Indians came (Kottampally 1994:38). A few thousand Indians migrated to the west coast to work as agricultural labourers (Hess 1974). In 1830 there were only 9,377 Indians in the USA (Reimers 1981:2). Most of the Indian immigrants were from Punjabi Jat farming families, belonging to the Sikh faith. Many of these early Sikh immigrants worked on the Western Pacific Railroad and later moved into the rural areas of the Central Valley of California reasserting their agricultural tradition (Jensen 1980:298). The number of Indian students in American universities was small during this time (Shridharan 1941 72).
enactment of the Oriental Exclusion Act in 1924 virtually banned all immigration from Asia. The passing of the India Bill in 1946, again opened the doors for renewed immigration. Outside of China, Philippines, Japan and Korea, India sent most immigrants after the World War II, but her numbers were still small. Unlike the earlier migration of Indians, those coming after 1946 as quota immigrants were professionals rather than unskilled agricultural labourers. In addition, large number of non-quota family members also immigrated. Overall the number of Indians arriving between 1945 and 1965 was only a few thousand, but it was the beginning of a larger immigration after 1965 of highly educated persons (Brett 1981:206-8)\textsuperscript{71}. The White Paper of 1965 further specified an annual maximum of 8,500 work vouchers (Tinker 1977)\textsuperscript{72}.

The 1965 Immigration Act opened the floodgates for Asians. It phased out the National Origin Quota System. The Act incorporated a preference system for the eastern hemisphere countries. The new law gave a higher preference to persons with professional qualifications. The first, second, fourth and fifth preferences of the 1965 Immigration Act, which allots 74 percent of the country’s quotas to family unification, has further enhanced incentives to migrate to the United States. During the post-1965 period the European immigration rates greatly declined whereas the non-European rates of immigration jumped (Reimers 1981:9-11)\textsuperscript{73}. By 1976 there were 115,000 Indians.

The Indian immigrants entering after 1965 were predominantly males who took jobs in American urban hospitals, universities or businesses eager to employ their skills. But during 1972-76 females outnumbered them as the already admitted immigrant males began to bring in Indian brides. In 1978 the National Science Foundation reported that Asia accounted for slightly more than half of the immigrant scientists and engineers of that year. Indians accounted for one-third of
the Asian total. Mostly, these were engineers (National Science Foundation 1978:15-16). In 1975, immigration authorities classified the vast majority of Indian immigrants as professional or technical workers or their immediate families. As Nathan Glazer puts it “Indians arrived at the right place and at the right time for success.”

As the elite settled and began to bring their families and as more Indians began to use family preferences, the social base of the immigrants broadened, the sex ratio of immigrants narrowed slightly, and Indian communities developed, notably in New York City (Reimers 1981:114). The number of Indians rose from 362,000 in 1980 to 500,000 by 1987 and 1,678,765 by 2000. They constituted 0.6 percent of the country’s population. Considering the four US census regions, the Asian Indians are remarkably evenly distributed as compared to other Asian groups. They are preponderantly metropolitan. Almost 70 percent of the Asian Indians live in the eight major industrial-urban states like New York, California, New Jersey, Texas, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and Ohio. Most of them are employed in the industrial and service sectors of the economy (Bharadwaj and Rao 1990:204).

1.10. Canada

During the period 1904-08, 5,200 Indians settled in British Columbia as agricultural labourers. Approximately 80.85 percent were Sikhs who had come from Punjab and Hong Kong. Most of the rest were Hindu Punjabis. The Canadian government banned Indian immigration in 1908, and the ban remained in force till 1947. During the post-1947 period the government gradually lifted the barriers on Asian immigration which led to an increase in Indian population. During the post-World War II period the flow of Indian immigrants was highly selective. About three-fourths of all the post-war immigrants were highly educated and skilled.
By 1971 there were 67,000 Indians in Canada (Jain, Ravindra 1993:43)\textsuperscript{77}. The migrants during this period came from different parts of India. The PIOs migrated during this period from various British colonies namely Fiji (15,000), East Africa (25,000), South Africa (2,000), Guyana (25,000), and Trinidad (25,000) (Jain, Ravindra 1993:44)\textsuperscript{78}. Sikhs remained by far the largest Indian group representing 120,000-130,000 (Buchignani 1989: 710)\textsuperscript{79}.

The year 1976 was a milestone in the Canadian immigration history. With the passage of the 1976 Immigration Act, Canada institutionalised fair admission practices and also encouraged family reunification and admission of refugees. By 1981 there were 109,665 Indians in Canada. Indians are mainly concentrated in Ontario (45 percent) and British Columbia (about 39 percent). Over one half of all Indians in Canada today are Sikhs. The Indians who are mainly urban professionals have been gravitated to the largest cities, primarily to Toronto (Kubaat 1987:229)\textsuperscript{80}. Apart from the skilled professions, another avenue for Asian immigrants is the proprietorship of small business. As per the 1991 Census there were 424,095 People of Indian origin (PIOs) or Non-resident Indians (NRIs) in Canada (including 157, 015 Hindus and 147,440 Sikhs) (Petros 1993:47)\textsuperscript{81}. In 2000 their population was 700,000 and they constituted 2.27 percent of the country’s population (MEA 2001: xvii-xx)\textsuperscript{82}. They are presently one of Canada’s most rapidly growing ethno-cultural populations (Buchignani 1989:71)\textsuperscript{83} who preserve and maintain their cultural identity, and also exhibit a strong desire to pass on these values and culture to the next generation to make them appreciate their own cultural roots (Bhat and Sahoo 2003: 142-43)\textsuperscript{84}.
1.11. Australia

In the 19th century Australia the Chinese remained the major Asian-Pacific group. Next in number were the Pacific Islanders. Then came the Indians. Many Indian born persons in Australia were children of British military and civil service families. But there were a few Gujarati, Sindi and Bengali traders and noticeable number of Sikhs and Muslims from Punjab. Some of these people worked as tropical labourers in northern Queensland, some were in sugar and then in bananas in northern New South Wales and others spent time hawking goods in the country towns. In all by 1901, they totaled just under 5,000. Even by 1947 there were only 7,468 Indians. Their number rose gradually during the 1950s and 1960s. The Indian population was 14,167 in 1961 and 29,212 in 1971. There was a steep fall in sex ratio among the Indians from 389.9 in 1901 to 180 in 1947, and to 107.4 in 1971 (Price 1987:175-80)65.

The declaration of the Whitlam Labour Government in 1972 that Australian immigration policy would be completely free of any discrimination on grounds of race, skin, colour or nationality, resulted in the marked rise in Asian-Pacific immigration. Similar stand was taken by the Fraser Liberal-National Government of 1975 and the Hawke Labour Government of 1983. By 1983 the population of people of Indian origin was 99,000. They were mainly concentrated in New South Wales (29.4 percent), Victoria (29.9 percent) and Western Australia (24.2 percent). The people of Indian origin are mainly in production, processing, professional, technical and clerical occupations. In 2000 Australia had 160,000 People of Indian Origin (PIOs) or Non-resident Indians (NRIs) constituting 0.83 percent of Australia’s population (MEA 2001: 277)65.
1.12. Emigration to the West Asian Countries

The emigration of Indians on a large-scale to the West Asian countries is a post-Second World War phenomenon. There were only 14,000 Indians in the Gulf in 1948 (Kondapi 1951:528)87. By 1971 their population had risen to 40,000 (Tinker 1977:12)88. During the 1970s and 1980s there was unprecedented immigration to the Gulf due to the oil boom. The population of Indian workers which was 154,418 in 1975 rose to 599,500 in 1981, and to 1,150,000 in 1992. In 1990 there were about 1.4 million Indians in the West Asian countries. Of these about 1.3 million were in the Gulf countries (Jain, Prakash 1994)89. In 2000 according to the Ministry of External Affairs' Report there were 3,282,600 Indians in the six gulf countries namely Saudi Arabia, The United Arab Emirates, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar (MEA 2001: xvii-xx)90.

The oil boom in the Gulf countries resulted in unprecedented development of physical infrastructure. These countries invariably had to import unskilled and skilled workers, and white and blue-collar workers from other countries due to paucity of required personnel. During the 1960s they got workers from other Arab countries, especially from Egypt, Yemen and Jordan. Till the end of the decade there were only a few Indians in the Gulf. With increase in the developmental activities in many countries there was a scarcity of labour. South Asia became the next source of labour for the Gulf countries. Large number of Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis emigrated to the Gulf and West Asia.

The year 1973 was the beginning of a rapidly increasing demand for expatriate labour in oil-exporting countries of the Gulf region: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, The United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Qatar and Libya. In the following years the oil revenue of these countries increased considerably and they started in a big way the erection of physical
infrastructure, which led to the demand for labour, especially in the construction sector, and largely for unskilled labour.

Several factors contributed to the inability of the countries to get the needed labourers within the country. They were: very small domestic populations; a low participation rate in the labour market caused by the low participation rate of women; the traditional aversion of the people to blue-collar jobs; and lack of technical personnel (Birks and Sinclair 1980)\textsuperscript{91}. Initially these countries imported the needed personnel from the neighbouring Arab countries like Yemen, Egypt and Jordan. India also had the tradition of sending workers to West Asia since the Second World War. But not many Indians had migrated till the early seventies. With the oil boom and increase in the developmental activities in the 1970s, it became inevitable for these countries to turn to South Asia for obtaining labour. Several private agents started recruiting people in South Asia. Within a short span large-scale emigration of South Asians to Middle East and North Africa (MENA) started.

In 1975, 71 percent of the expatriate labour in the Middle East were nationals of other countries, and 20 percent were Asians, the majority of them coming from the Indian sub-continent (UN/ ESCAP 1984)\textsuperscript{92}. The non-Arabs were concentrated in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE. Over the years the nationality structure of the labourers changed. There was a steep rise in the number of South Asian labourers. The main reasons that made the South Asians competitive in the labour market were: they were cheap, disciplined and hardworking; and they came from either Muslim countries (Pakistan and Bangladesh) or Muslim regions of India like Kerala (La Porte 1984:701\textsuperscript{93}; Gulati 1986:194)\textsuperscript{94}. During the initial years of oil boom, the oil-rich countries concentrated on building the infrastructure and imported mainly unskilled labourers. During the later years the emphasis shifted to industrialisation and that led to importing of more skilled workers. Before
1976, 1 million unskilled workers were employed in the labour importing countries for the infrastructural projects. Between 1975 and 1980, 1 million more unskilled workers had to be imported to manage and operate this new infrastructure (Shaw 1981)\(^6\). Again the oil-rich countries had to turn to South Asia to get the skilled labourers since other Arab countries were unable to provide the needed labour.

Most of the Indians working in the Gulf are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. As per the 1980s' data pertaining to their occupational structure, more than half of them were working in the construction and transport industries. Others were in utility, maintenance, office and paramedical services (Jain, Prakash 1994)\(^7\). There is no possibility of the Gulf and West Asian countries needing more labourers from India. There is a possibility of considerable Indian workers returning from the Gulf and West Asian countries in the near future. Most of the construction workers may have to return to India since much of the construction of infrastructure facilities is over.

About half the Indians living in the Gulf are from Andhra Pradesh, and the rest are from Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Goa and other states of India.

The Indians living in the Gulf are not the citizens of those countries. Citizenship in the Gulf is not granted to the non-Arabs irrespective of the duration of stay in the host country. They have gone there as temporary workers on a contract basis. They will have to return after their contract is over. Most of the workers are not allowed to take their families to the Gulf. They are provided free accommodation, food and transport by the employers.

The Gulf remittances have helped in the development of certain regions of India such as Kerala, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. The annual remittances from the Gulf is now estimated at
Rs.10,000 crores (1992). In the Indian financial sector approximately Rs. 21,000 crores of expatriate investment exists. Bank deposits at Rs 18,000 crores account for the lion’s share. A brief profile of the Indians in these countries is provided here.

1.12.1. Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia has the largest number of Indians in the Gulf. In 2000 there were 1,500,000 Indians constituting 7 percent of the country’s population (MEA 2001:xvii-xx)\(^97\). They are engaged in all kinds of economic activities varying from construction work to high-ranking professional work. The oil boom resulted in rapid economic development of the country. The Indians are mainly found in the large cities namely Riyadh, Jeddah, Dhahran etc.

1.12.2. The United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) has the second largest concentration of Indians in the Gulf. There were 900,000 Indians in 2000 constituting 32 percent of the country’s population (MEA 2001:xvii-xx)\(^98\). They are found in all the seven autonomous emirates. Large numbers of Indians are living in the two cities namely Abu Dabi and Dubai. They are found in every sphere of economic activity. Indian businessmen have invested in industry, trade and commerce in the free trade zones.

1.12.3. Oman

Oman has a large Indian community. In 2000 there were 340,000 Indians constituting 15 percent of Oman’s population (MEA 2001:xvii-xx)\(^99\). They form majority of foreign nationals in Oman (56 percent). 55 percent of Indians are blue-collar workers. 80 percent of senior management personnel are Indians.
1.12.4. Kuwait

Kuwait in 2000 had 287,600 Indians. They constituted 13 percent of host country's population (MEA 2001:xvii-xx).100 The Iraqi invasion in 1990 led to mass exodus of Indians from Kuwait. The Indian government operated 488 flights over a period of 59 days to fly back all Indians from Kuwait. After the war most of them returned to Kuwait.

1.12.5. Bahrain

Bahrain had in 2000 130,000 Indians constituting 20 percent of the country's population (MEA 2001:xvii-xx).111 About 60 percent Indians are skilled labourers. Some are businessmen and considerable numbers of them are professionals.

1.12.6. Qatar

Qatar in 2000 had 125,000 Indians constituting 24 percent of the country's population (MEA 2001:xvii-xx).102 About 70 percent are skilled and unskilled workers, 20 percent are white-collar employees, and the rest are professionals and executives.

1.13. Characteristics of the Gulf Countries

Hereditary monarchical regimes have traditionally administered all the Gulf countries. Even though some of them may have features such as an elected legislature (in Kuwait), or an Advisory Council (in Qatar), the executive and legislative powers invariably vest in the hereditary monarch in each of them. It is the Head of State who appoints Ministers and Advisory Council members. He can, therefore, presumably change them at his sovereign will.

The discovery of vast resources of oil and their exploitation since the late nineteen sixties is the basic and driving force that has been responsible for the phenomenal changes that have taken place in most
of these countries in the last four decades. Saudi Arabia, for instance, is credited with having 25% of the proven oil reserves of the world. Even tiny Oman has 10% of the same kind of wealth. Most of the other Gulf States have enough oil resources to keep their relatively small economies on the path to prosperity. On the other hand, Iraq and Libya have been blessed with considerable reserves of oil.

Where abundance of oil and natural gas is not the moving force, their absence has been compensated in other ways. Dubai, for instance, with little or no oil of its own, has adopted imaginative economic and financial policies such as the establishment of free trade and duty-free economic zones like the Jebel Ali Free Zone, the Cargo Village and its Airport Free Zone. With total exemption also of income and other taxes, Dubai has been able to achieve phenomenal economic development because of the impressive revenues earned by its citizens and the foreign nationals who have made their homes in this free enterprise emirate.

Foreign nationals are not permitted to own any business or immovable property in the Gulf countries. They are required to make a local citizen or entity a majority even if sleeping partner in their enterprises. This has facilitated the task of ensuring that the wealth generated in the region is very profitably invested in the development of world-class infrastructure. Five star hotels, as well as an abundance of duty-free shops and international festivals of all kinds, have led to the existence of an economic miracle throughout the Arabian peninsula.

Though the rulers are adherents of the Sunni, Sect of Islam, there is a sizeable. Shia population in many countries of the region. Among the Gulf countries, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is foremost in adhering to a conservative, austere, and doctrinaire form of Islam, referred to loosely as Wahabism. The Saudi royal family has a special position as
the Custodian of the two Holy Places of Makkah and Medinah. With Islam as the state religion, the Shari'ah is the basic law in all these countries and Arabic is the only official language. Adherents of other religions are not permitted to build their places of worship. However, group worship in private residences is not prohibited. The conservative social ethos of the Arab world has, however, not prevented the upwardly mobile younger generation from being infatuated by gadgets and artifacts of the industrialized western world. The entire region is sparsely populated, Saudi Arabia and Iraq being the only Gulf countries with relatively large populations of almost 22 and 23 million, respectively. As for the others, the corresponding figures range from barely half a million to about two and a half. Consequently, with the frenetic development projects in hand, all the Gulf countries are short of manpower to keep their engines of growth in motion. This shortage is all the more endemic in the case of professionals like highly qualified doctors to man their well-equipped hospitals, as well as engineers, architects, chartered accountants, bankers, etc. There is also a tremendous dearth in these countries of highly skilled and even semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Such personnel are essential for the construction of the new housing, commercial and industrial structures now in progress, and for the implementation of numerous other infrastructure schemes.

To meet these demographic and skills shortages, the region has had to import hundreds of thousands of personnel from many other countries. Until the Gulf crisis of 1990-91, there were a large number of Palestinians working in the region. But they have not been allowed to remain there since then. Workers, initially from Egypt, and then India, and from the other countries of the South Asian subcontinent, gladly replaced the Palestinians in increasing numbers.

High-grade professionals in various disciplines, both economic and technical, are in great demand in this region. They are offered very
attractive emoluments. The presence of highly qualified Indian experts is valued as it helps the socio-economic development, which is the ambition of all the Gulf countries. These highly paid professionals are also usually fortunate enough to be permitted to take their families with them to the Gulf as their monthly emoluments are more than the variously prescribed minima. Yet they too are forced to send their children back to their home countries or anywhere else as soon as their kids complete their high school education. This is not because most of the Gulf countries do not have adequate facilities for higher education in the English medium. In some of the countries, the reason for this is that adult children are not permitted to continue residing with their parents.

As the Arab nationals prefer employment in well-paid government positions, they have ensured that they would have the assistance of qualified foreign technicians and experts to perform the tasks that they themselves ought to be doing. Consequently, the number of expatriate white-collar workers in public sector undertakings and even in government offices has assumed alarming proportions over the past decade. Attempts are, therefore, now being made by the Gulf countries to train their own people to replace expatriates. Many of the regional governments have decided to fix a ceiling, which is not easily adhered to, for the recruitment of such foreign nationals. At the same time, they have tried to diversify their sources of recruitment in order to ensure that no single country would be able to threaten their national security.

The Republic of Korea used to be a valuable source of supply of skilled workers during the early period of influx of foreign personnel into the Gulf. But it is no longer in this league owing to its own rapid economic development. There are no ceilings for the recruitment of domestic help such as housemaids, gardeners, cooks, bearers and such other personnel. In fact, there has been an unfortunate mismatch between the large-scale unemployment of such workers in their home
countries and the enormous demand for them in the Gulf. The result has been a tendency on the part of employers in some of the countries of the region to treat their domestic help with scant regard for their welfare. Many employees have complained of harsh and unfair treatment. Female employees working as governnesses and housemaids are particularly vulnerable in some of the Gulf countries. The situation is further complicated by the fact that in most cases maids and other domestic help are not covered by the local labour laws.

There is reluctance on the part of most citizens in the Gulf to undertake any semi-skilled, unskilled or menial jobs and a huge foreign workforce has had to be recruited to develop infrastructure and other development projects. There is a wide range of variation in the living conditions and amenities provided by the employers. Some of the less fortunate workers, particularly those who are semi-skilled or unskilled, are accommodated in crowded labour camps in small rooms with four to eight bunker beds. The facilities provided to them such as toilets and kitchens are inadequate and unsatisfactory. Generally, the living conditions and amenities provided by the large corporations are better than the facilities extended by small companies and individual employers. Many NGOs and Gulf returnees emphasize the need for improvement in both working and living conditions of the semi-skilled and unskilled labour. While, as already noted, the highly paid foreign professionals are allowed to have their families with them, this privilege is not available to other, less privileged foreign workers in the various Gulf countries. Difficult conditions of work, inclement weather, inability to participate in any social or cultural activities, concern for their families back home, and a troublesome feeling of emotional deprivation, have sometimes led to serious cases of mental depression and even suicide.

Citizenship is almost universally not granted by the Gulf countries to foreign nationals. It is only in Oman that aliens are eligible for local
citizenship after having resided in the country for 20 years. Exceptions to the general embargo are to be found in one or two countries, where local citizenship is sometimes granted to ethnic Arabs from another Gulf country. In some others, there are a small number of persons of foreign origin who have been granted local citizenship. These are usually the wives of native citizens. Unfortunately, these women can be rendered into 'stateless persons, unless they are themselves from another Arab country, in the event of their being divorced by their husbands.

1.14. Present Status of NRIs in the Gulf Countries

The Indian Diaspora in the Gulf consists entirely of Non Resident Indian citizens (NRIs). A conservative estimate of their present number in the Gulf region based on figures supplied by the Ministry of Labour (Table -1) and by Indian missions in that area would be at least 3 million. Their numbers make impressive reading even in terms of their percentage of total population in the countries where they reside.

Statistics collected by the Ministry of External Affairs reveal that the socio-economic profile. Of Indian migrants to the Gulf has been shifting in a positive direction since the late 1980s. There has been an upward flow of professionals and white-collar workers. Apart from highly qualified persons such as doctors, engineers and architects, bankers and chartered accountants, many white-collar workers are now working in government offices or public sector enterprises. Others are engaged in the gold, electronics, motor spare parts or textiles trade, in the construction industry, or in managing hotels and restaurants. Nevertheless, semi-skilled and unskilled workers still account for about 70% of the Indian migrants; while white-collar workers are in the neighborhood of 20%, and professionals have a 10% share of the total
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Table 1: Estimates of Indian Migrants in the Gulf Region 2001-2005

For the professionals and the white-collar workers, life in the Gulf is not exactly a bed of roses. This is because of the peculiar socio-economic profile of the countries of this region. Their contacts and interactions with the local people are limited and mostly of a formal and impersonal nature. But they have enough monetary compensation to induce them to stay on in the Gulf for as long as they can. They are naturally drawn to their compatriots of a similar social status or background. A large number of Indian associations are thus to be found throughout the region, which are based on commonalities such as place of origin, religion, language or profession. During its visits to various Gulf countries, the High Level Committee found that there are as many as a hundred such associations engaged in cultural and recreational activities in Kuwait and the UAE, while relatively smaller numbers exist in Saudi Arabia and Oman. The Indian Art Circle in Kuwait has even constructed an auditorium with a seating capacity of 1,200 persons, in which regular cultural programmes and seminars are organized, and sometimes also performances by invited Indian artists. Similar facilities
are provided to the community by Indian diplomatic missions. It may
noted that the ICCR has no Cultural Centre in the Gulf countries.

The professional Indians and some of the white-collar workers are
the only ones who qualify to have their families with them due to the
high basic income norms set by the Gulf governments. To enjoy such a
privilege in the UAE, for instance, the monthly earnings of an NRI must
be no less than 4,000 Dirhams (currently equivalent to Rs.48,000), or
Dirhams 3,000 plus accommodation. In Kuwait, the qualifying minimum
is even higher, namely, Kuwaiti Dinars 400 or Rs.56,000 per month! As
such salaries are not beyond the capacity of our professionals. They
have taken the initiative of setting up a large number of schools
throughout the region which follow the Indian curriculum and thus meet
the educational needs of their children. There are no less than 38 such
schools in the UAE, 15 in Oman, 9 in Kuwait and 7 in Saudi Arabia
which are run and managed by Indian professionals.

As the Gulf region is not very far from India, these well-heeled
NRIs are able to make frequent home visits to maintain regular contact
with friends and relatives. Their usual complaint is of the rough
treatment they receive at the hands of customs officials at the port of
entry into India. With easy access to radio and satellite TV channels,
they are also in close touch with political and economic developments in
the country.

These NRIs pride themselves on their loyalty to Mother India. To
substantiate this, they cite impressive figures of their ready response to
occasional calamities faced by India, such as the Kargil incursions and
the Gujarat earthquake, as also their readiness to invest in special bond
issues like the recent India Millennium Deposit bonds. As to the latter,
the Committee learned that local banks in the Gulf, as indeed elsewhere
also, are not averse to giving loans to prospective purchasers of bonds,
even up to 90% of their intended investment. This is done on condition that the accruing income would be appropriately shared between both the parties involved. On the other hand, some of the persons that the Committee met in the Gulf countries openly admitted that they were not particularly interested in remitting their savings to India. They were under the impression that they could only park their funds in the rupee accounts of Indian banks. They were not willing to do this as the exchange rate of the Indian rupee had been constantly on the decline. It was clarified to them that deposits in an FCNR Account permit NRIs to maintain their deposits in India in various designated foreign currencies and with full rights of repatriation after one year. In any case, it appeared to the Committee that the impressive figures of the annual inward remittances to India from the Gulf are mostly the hard-earned savings effected by our unskilled and semi-skilled labour. For it is the latter who have no other place in which to keep their money, besides the fact that their families back home need every rupee that can be saved.

The living and working condition of the unskilled and semi-skilled Indian workers in the Gulf leaves much to be desired. A majority of these NRIs are young males. More than half their numbers have invariably gone from Kerala, while the remaining persons have mostly been from Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Over 60% of them have had little formal education. On arrival in their country of destination in the Gulf, they are usually fed and housed in barrack-like tenements and engaged as labour on construction projects. Most of them are unmarried. As recruitment normally takes place for fixed periods and for specific employment, there is a lot of turnover of these migrants, though many of them have been known to have gone back to the region after a while, with fresh job contracts.
An emigration permit issued by the Ministry of Labour is mandatory before unskilled or semiskilled labourers are allowed to leave the country. However, possibly due to the large numbers involved, the detailed procedures that were being followed in the initial period of migration of such persons to the Gulf were discontinued some years ago. The Ministry of Labour is averse to our consular officers in the countries of emigration involving themselves in scrutinizing the genuineness of job contracts on offer, or to satisfy themselves of the bona fides of the prospective employers before the grant of the mandatory permission to emigrate. This has only compounded the problems of these emigrants. There are many unfortunate cases of recruiting agents duping illiterate job seekers, often in collusion with the prospective employers. As per prevalent practice, the employee is required to hand over his travel document to the employer on his arrival. The document is kept in the custody of the employer, enabling him to exercise undue hold over the employee and to ignore or alter the terms of employment. This is possible due to the fact that no change of jobs is permitted without local official sanction and this is normally given only with the approval of the employer. Nor can a Gulf employee return home without a similarly obtained exit permit of the local government. The Committee was informed that there were some cases of bogus employers in the Gulf countries who import labour with the sole purpose of hawking them to others at an attractive fee!

1.15. Among the hardships suffered by our migrant labour are the following:

- Employment agreements are sometimes ignored on arrival of labour in the Gulf and skilled workers are forced to work as unskilled persons.
• Employers sponsoring visas for labour sometimes do not receive them on arrival and leave them to fend for themselves.

• Several months of work may have to be devoted initially to the settlement of debts incurred in meeting the fee extorted from them by their recruiting agents in India.

• Salaries are often not paid when due; sometimes not paid at all for several months towards the end of the contractual period, resulting in workers being repatriated without full payment of their dues.

• Work permit fees (iqama) are deducted from their meager salaries.

• Work hours are usually much longer than the generally recognized 8-hour workday.

• The employees often do not receive their legitimate overtime dues.

• Transportation arrangements of group of labourers from their camps to their worksites are often unsatisfactory.

• Medical facilities are inadequate and, in some cases, almost non-existent.

• Though a return passage to India after two years in the Gulf is expected to be a standard clause in job contracts, leave is often refused or postponed indefinitely.

• The mandate of the Labour Courts appears to be restrictive and it does not cover domestic help. The recourse to them is somewhat difficult and not within easy reaches of an ordinary worker.
Complaints in this regard were brought to the attention of the Committee. It is fortunate that some of our offices in the Gulf, like the Consulate General in Dubai, have been able to establish a regular consultation procedure with the local Labour Ministry officials. This has apparently helped in resolving many labour complaints.

Naïve, vulnerable and gullible migrants have sometimes had to encounter dangers of a serious character. According to a report in India Today of 9 March 2001, as many as 24 persons from Kerala had been publicly beheaded last year on charges of narcotic smuggling, an offence that attracts execution under local laws.

There have been cases of Indian women who were recruited as cooks or housemaids and were driven to desperation because of the ill treatment and molestation that they were subjected to. It appears that unscrupulous agents had managed to send them out under false pretences.

Young girls are given away in marriage. Possibly for a price to unknown persons from the Gulf.

There are few recreational opportunities for the labour class of our migrants. Concern for their families left behind in India, difficult living and working conditions, insecurity of jobs has often led to depression and melancholia, resulting in suicide in extreme cases. Shepherds and agricultural workers have to work in remote areas with minimal or no contact with the outside world. This often results in serious psychological problems.

Workers who want to return to India on completion of their contracts, or due to an unforeseen emergency like sickness or
death in the family often find that exit formalities are inordinately delayed.

- On their return to India, illiterate workers, often with little or no knowledge of the facilities available to them under the Baggage Rules, are often harassed and exploited by the Customs authorities at Indian airports.

- During its visit to Kuwait, the Committee found that our Embassy in that capital city had to set up a shelter for distressed women. It had done so with the willing and generous cooperation and financial support of local Indians. These unfortunate women had managed to escape from their employers as they could no longer put up with the harsh treatment that had been meted out to them. They were awaiting repatriation to India as soon as the Embassy was able to obtain exit permits for them, as well as financial contributions from local NRIs to meet the cost of air travel.

Out of a total of 294,000 Indian residents in Kuwait, about 113,000 of them are domestic servants and, of them, about 49,000 are housemaids. In view of the serious problems faced by housemaids, the Government of India had suspended their emigration to Kuwait in June 1999. The Committee learned that this had created some disaffection in Kerala due to the serious unemployment problems in the state. Government is working on lifting the ban and finalizing modalities to ensure the welfare of maids.

In a note submitted to the Committee by our Embassy in Saudi Arabia, it was suggested that it is easy to be negative about the treatment of our labour in that country. The Saudi system had changed for the better over the years and employers were now much more sensitive to the needs of their workers, and that allowance must also be
made for the fact that living and working conditions in Saudi Arabia are uniquely onerous and irksome. The note went on to state that in 1999 only 1,276 labour complaints had been received by our missions in Jeddah and Riyadh; and that that was a mere 0.08% of the total Indian population in the country. Similarly, only 163 maidservants had complained of ill treatment during the same period, which was a minuscule 1.6% of the 10,000 housemaids in the Kingdom.

1.16. Indian diaspora and Transnational Networks

The recent advancement in the technology of travel, communication and transport has resulted in the "compression of time and space" (Harvey 1989) and the diasporic communities today are extensively linked through both personal and virtual networks cutting across several nations including the homeland. These networks are transnational in nature as they cut across not just the motherland and the country of immigration but cover several nation states where members of the same diasporic community are dispersed. Unlike the earlier motherland centred dyadic diasporic relations, diaspora communities today have multiple centres of interaction. India is unique for the magnitude of her diversities in terms of languages and regions, religions and sects, castes and sub-castes, rural and urban, food and style of dress, which are also reflected in her diasporic communities. Hence, it is not surprising to find extensive networks based on language and region, religion and caste among the Indian diaspora. Hindu Diaspora (Vertovec 2000) and Sikh Diaspora (Tatla 1999) are instances of such extensive religious networks, global in coverage. Similarly, there are diasporic communities formed on the basis of linguistic or regional identities such as Punjabis, Gujaratis, Sindhis, Tamilians, Malayalees and Telugus. Global organisations like Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO), World Telugu Federation (WTF), World Punjabi Organisation (WPO) etc., have

39
emerged to preserve and promote these identities and cultures, uniting transnationally India and the global Indian diaspora.

1.17. Migration Management

TABLE – 1.1: Emigration for Employment during the last five years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of workers (in lakshs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>4.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>5.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: MEA Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora,

The ministry of External Affairs Annual Report (2005-06) shows that the number of workers who were given emigration clearance for contractual employment abroad during the last five years and data on distribution of labour outflows is detailed in Tables- 1.1 and Table- 1.2 below. A vast majority of migrants to the Middle East, including Gulf countries, are semi-skilled and unskilled workers and most of them are temporary migrants who return to India after expiry of their contractual employment.

It is observed from Table 1.1 above that there has been a consistent and steady increase in the number of persons emigrating for employment abroad from the year 2001 onwards. The number of emigration clearances granted by the eight offices of the Protector of Emigrants has increased from 2.79 lakhs in 2001 to 5.49 lakhs in 2005.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>U. A. E.</td>
<td>53673</td>
<td>95034</td>
<td>143804</td>
<td>175262</td>
<td>194412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>78048</td>
<td>99453</td>
<td>121431</td>
<td>123522</td>
<td>99879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>39751</td>
<td>4859</td>
<td>54434</td>
<td>52064</td>
<td>39124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>30985</td>
<td>41209</td>
<td>36816</td>
<td>33275</td>
<td>40931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>6131</td>
<td>10512</td>
<td>26898</td>
<td>31464</td>
<td>71041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>16382</td>
<td>20807</td>
<td>24778</td>
<td>22980</td>
<td>30060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>13829</td>
<td>12596</td>
<td>14251</td>
<td>16325</td>
<td>50222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3544</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3233</td>
<td>3423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2576</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>39865</td>
<td>83193</td>
<td>44044</td>
<td>10715</td>
<td>15945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>278664</td>
<td>387663</td>
<td>465456</td>
<td>474960</td>
<td>548853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.2 indicates that the U.A.E. become the main destination for Indian workers closely followed by Saudi Arabia. Outside the Gulf region, the intake of Indian manpower by Malaysia has shown a significant and consistent increase. Employment for Indian workers in these countries holds a great potential. The employment of Indian workers abroad helps to earn foreign exchange and thereby adds to the foreign exchange reserves of the country. The private transfer of foreign exchange from the year 2000-2001 onwards is given in Table - 1.3 below.

\[ \text{Rs 301.328} \]

\[ \text{Rs 53} \]
### TABLE - 1.3 : Private Remittances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>In US $ million</th>
<th>In Rs. Crore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000 – 2001</td>
<td>12873</td>
<td>58756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 – 2002</td>
<td>12125</td>
<td>57821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002 – 2003</td>
<td>14807</td>
<td>71642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003 – 2004</td>
<td>18885</td>
<td>86764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004 – 2005</td>
<td>14494</td>
<td>66861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 – 2006***</td>
<td>12043</td>
<td>52563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upto 09.2005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: MEA Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora,

It may be observed that there has been a steady increase in the remittances from Rs. 58756 crores in 2000-2001 to Rs. 52563 crores in 2005-06 (upto 30th September, 2005). It is assessed that a major proportion of this is contributed by the increasing number of unskilled and semi-skilled Indian workers employed in the Gulf countries, Malaysia and Singapore. Ministry of External Affairs Information Booklet for Indian Emigrants (a publication of MOIA), that the work relating to emigration from India to overseas countries and the return of emigrants has been transferred from the Ministry of Labour & Employment to Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA). The provisions of the Emigration Act, 1983 govern emigration from India. The Emigration Act, 1983 provides for a regulatory framework in respect of emigration of Indian Workers for overseas employment on contractual basis and seeks to safeguard their interests and ensure their welfare. The Act makes it mandatory for registration of all Recruiting Agents with the Protector General of Emigrants, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs before they can conduct the business of recruitment for overseas employment.
1.18. India and Indian Diaspora: Policy Initiatives

It is only since the emergence of Indian elite in the Western world during the 1970s, especially in The United States of America, Canada and The United Kingdom, that India has evinced keen interest in Non-Resident Indians, the New Diaspora, in so far as to attract their investment for developmental programs in India. During the 1990s, following the policy of liberalization, half-hearted attempts have been made to secure the involvement of affluent NRIs in setting up industries and to tide over the foreign exchange crises through attractive financial schemes like Resurgent India Bonds which tapped $4.2 billion in 1998. The PIO Card is yet another scheme that promotes the Indian linkage with the Old Diaspora.

The Government of India formed a High Level Committee (HLC) on Indian diaspora in the millennium year under the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) to specifically look after the issue of Indian diaspora and to recommend a broad and flexible policy framework after reviewing the status, needs and role of People of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). The Committee submitted its report to the Prime Minister in January 2002 recommending several measures with country-specific plans, for forging a mutually beneficial relationship between India and Indian diaspora (Bhat et al. 2002)\textsuperscript{106}. The Government has already initiated two of its important recommendations, namely, the observation of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas to recognise the Indian diaspora, and granting of dual citizenship. A new ministry, 'Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs' has been formed to exclusively promote the interest of India and Indian diaspora in 2004.
Table 1: Current Population Estimates of People of Indian Origin (PIOs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>PIO Population*</th>
<th>Host Country's Population** (000)</th>
<th>Percentage of Host Country's Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Diaspora</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>704,640</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>60.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>395,250</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>51.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>336,579</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>41.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>1,294</td>
<td>38.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>150,306</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>36.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td>220,000</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>30.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>22,218</td>
<td>7.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>217,000</td>
<td>4,018</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
<td>47,479</td>
<td>5.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>2,576</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>43,309</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>85,000</td>
<td>30,669</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>62,806</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>23,300</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>212,092</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Diaspora</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>30,757</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1,000***</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>59,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>15,864</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>19,138</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>10,016</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1,678,765***</td>
<td>283,230</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>59,238</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gulf Region</strong></td>
<td>NRIs</td>
<td>Country's population and % of Country's population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>21,500,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>2,800,000</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>340,000</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>287,600</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>130,000</td>
<td>643,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>525,000</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.1 Political Map of India
1.19. Theoretical Framework

There is no single theory that accounts for the emergence and perpetuation of international migration. Social anthropologists, sociologists, economists, demographers, geographers and other social scientists have developed tools and levels of analysis to try to explain the initiation and perpetuation of international migration. However, the current patterns suggest that the full understanding of the subject cannot be reached by relying on a single discipline’s tools and levels of analysis. Instead one has to take into account the complexity of the subject by opening up for a multi-disciplinary approach in order to explain the phenomenon. It has to be noted that these theories developed to explain international migration are meant to give account of international migration in terms of labour migration. These models do not cover the refugee situation. Nevertheless, some theories may sometimes partly account for the refugee situation as well. I will, however, not pay attention to that since it is not in the scope of my thesis. The theories are designed to address the reason why people break up and leave their country of origin. Either temporary or permanently, to improve their economic, Sometimes social, situation at home. It can be noted here that in the recent years, scholars of migration have started to put focus on the immobility paradox. Their interest shifted and started to include people who stayed at home even though they had, out of a scholarly perspective, the perfect pre-conditions to move. As one of the main actors in my analysis are the migrants that actually did the move, I chose not to go into the immobility paradox any further.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to present firstly the theories on the emergence of migration. This is to find an answer to why people migrate. Some of the theories only focus on this first question i.e
neo-classical theory, while others even try to capture more of the complexity of the issue at stake. Further-reaching questions are addressed, such as: who takes the decision to migrate i.e. the individual him or herself, the family, household, head of the household etc, who migrates i.e. father, son, daughter, mother, single young male or female, poor, middleclass, upper-class, rural, urban, high-skilled, low-skilled etc, and why is that cultural feature in country of origin/destination, demand-led migration, supply-led migration etc. Secondly, the researcher trail to present the contemporary models of the perpetuation of migration. These models try to explain why migration continues even when labour in the country of destination is not desired anymore, or when the country of origin undergoes development. These theories reveal the importance of the social networks among migrants. The following theoretical overview on these models is predominantly based on the massive and detailed research of third, I will present a theory about irregular migration that tries to identify two kinds of irregular migration, namely survival-driven and opportunity-seeking irregular migration. Fourth, the theory of human agency in international migration is presented. This theory takes the experiential factors of migrant decisions into account, and can be seen as a complementary model to fill the gaps that are left out by the above mentioned dominant theories.

1.20. The Initiation of International Migration

1.20.1. Neoclassical Economics

According to the theory of neoclassical economics, international migration is caused on the macro-level by geographic differences in the supply and demand of labour10. A country with a large labour endowment relative to capital will have low wages and labour surplus while a country with a large capital endowment relative to labour will have high wages and labour scarcity. The resulting differential in wages is seen to be the driving force for workers from low-wage or labour-
surplus countries to move to high-wage or labour-scarce countries. These movements eventually result in a labour decrease and wage rise in the capital-poor country, while it leads to a labour increase and wage decline in the capital-rich country. At the point of equilibrium wages will eventually be the same all over the world. This functional explanation of international migration has laid a basis for many immigration policies. International migration of workers is, therefore, caused by wage differentials between countries. Once the wage differentials will be eliminated the movement of migration will end. The theory suggests that the labour market mechanisms are directly and solely influencing the individuals decision to migrate; accordingly, other kind of markets do not have any effects on international migration.

On the micro-level, the individual choice corresponds with the macroeconomic model of wage differentials. Individual rational actors decide to migrate because of a cost-benefit calculation that leads them to expect positive monetary net return. Sjaastad11 sees international migration as conceptualized by investment in human capital, which means in other words that people move to places that are supportive for their later career. However, migration comes at a cost. Some investments have to be done before higher wages can be earned. Such costs include the fee of traveling, the costs of living while looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and adapting to a new culture, and the psychological costs of leaving behind friends and family and meeting new people. The theory assumes therefore that international differences in wages and employment rates are the main incentive to migrate. Once those differentials are equalized, migration will stop. The decision to migrate is made by a rational individual, and the destination of migration is chosen according to the expected cost-benefit calculation. Critics12 claim that this approach simply reduces the migrants to labour power, and neglects the categorization according to
gender, ethnicity and social class. Furthermore, obstacles to mobility, such as political or structural barriers, are not taken into account.

1.20.2. The New Economics of Migration

The approach of New Economics of Migration came up in the 1980s and has brought some new insights in the process of migration. This integrative approach has been developed to link different levels of social organization and to consider both historical and contemporary processes. The rational individual and macroeconomic conditions are no longer seen as the only actors in the decision-making process. Instead, the new economics of migration model emphasizes the role of larger unites of related people, such as families or households or even communities, as the connection between the macro-level and the micro-level of analysis. The model assumes that people collectively aim not only to maximize the expected income but also to minimize risks that are associated with all kinds of markets failures, apart from those in the labour market. Other markets can for example be: Crop insurance market, unemployment insurance, capital markets, and credit markets.

The appropriate unit of analysis is not the isolated rational individual anymore but the larger collective; families, households, or other culturally defined units of production and consumption. Households may have strong incentives to diversify risks or accumulate capital through migration even when no wage differentials occur. Economic development within sending countries may not mean the end of migration, rather it can intensify the pressure for migration. An increase in the return of local productivity may increase the attractiveness of migration in order to overcoming capital and risk constraints. The model suggests that migration will continue if other, above mentioned markets within the sending countries are imperfect, absent or in disequilibrium, no matter Whether wage differentials exist
or not. Furthermore, the same expected gain might have different incentives on households in communities with different income distribution. Opponents of this model critique above all the assumption of a unified strategic actor. Especially from the feminist side it has been pointed out that household members not necessarily share the same goals and priorities. Fieldwork by Goss and Lindquist shows that household members often pursue individual interests that in some cases undermine collective decisions, while Riggs shows that both male and female potential migrants are attracted by the adventure factor of migration, especially the younger ones. Furthermore, the notion of household has been perceived as a euro-centric conception of the stem family, and studies have suggested including non-kin or distant kin who share the daily budget in the concept of household. The neo-classical theory and the model of the new economics of migration are both micro-level decision based and assume rational choice. Differences lay in the units that are assumed to make the decision and the entity being maximized or minimized income, capital, or risk.

1.20.3. Segmented Labour Market Theory

The key concept of this economic theory is that international migration stems from the underlying labour demands of modern industrial societies. According to Piore, who is one of the pioneers in this structural theory, migration is not caused by push factors in the country of origin but by pull factors in the country of migration. He argues that the permanent demand for foreign workers has its roots in the economic structures of developed nations. According to this theory the main actor in initiating international migration is the labour market in the receiving country and all the employers and governments working on its behalf. These findings do differ radically from the neo-classical model where the main actor is the rational cost/benefit calculating individual who initiates migration. International migration, according to
Piore, is demand-led, wage differentials and imperfect insurances do not have necessarily such a great impact on migration. Bifurcated labour markets in advanced economies are characterized with the duality of capital and labour. This dualism leads to different kind of jobs; the capital-intensive stable and skilled jobs of the primary labour market and the productivity-intensive unstable, low-skilled jobs of the secondary labour market. A raise in wages in low-paid jobs to attract nationals is economically impossible as the result would be structural inflation. As people not only work to earn money but also to accumulate or maintain a social status, low-wage jobs are often refused by natives. Employers are therefore looking for people who are willing to take low-paid, unstable jobs with few possibilities for upward mobility; in other words, people who are solely doing the job as a means to earning money. For different reasons, immigrants satisfy these demands in developed economies. at least in their early stage of migration. As immigrants often do not perceive themselves as a part of the receiving society, the low status that is connected to their kind of job is not a constraining factor. By sending home remittances, the immigrant receives social status within his/her own societal network. This structural character of developed capitalist countries. Economy demands foreign workers for low-paid jobs of the productivity-intensive segment of the labour market. However, while low wages in labour-receiving countries do not rise in response to a decrease in the supply of foreign workers as a result of social and institutional mechanisms, they may fall as a result of the increase of immigrant labour supply. The social and institutional checks that prevent the wages from rising do not prevent them from falling. According to this model, international wage differentials are therefore neither necessary nor a sufficient condition for labour migration to occur. Historical-Structural Theory and World Systems Theory. The model of Historical-Structural and World Systems Theory is a response to the functionalists in social science who argue that countries develop
economically by progressing through a systematic series of evolutionary stages culminating in modernization and industrialization. Historical-structuralisms counter-argue that the expansion of global capitalism acts to perpetuate inequalities and reinforces a stratified economic order because political power is unequally distributed across nations. The theory's point of departure therefore is that international migration is a natural consequence of capitalist market formation in the developing world and sees the penetration of the global economy into peripheral regions as the catalyst for international movement. The international flow of labour follows international flows of goods and capital, but in the opposite direction. Capitalist investments result in changes that create an uprooted, mobile population in peripheral countries while simultaneously forging strong material and cultural links with core countries, leading to transnational movement. According to historical-structuralism and the world system theory international migration ultimately has little to do with wage or employment differentials between countries; rather it originates from the dynamics of market creation and the political structure of the global economy.

1.20.4. The Perpetuation of International Migration

1.20.4.1. Social Capital Theory

This theory suggests that migrant networks play a crucial role in the perpetuation of international migration, and constitute a form of social capital that makes it easier for every following individual to migrate. Massey et al. define those networks as interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of family, kinship, friendship, and shared community of origin. Social capital is said to be created when relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action. Accordingly, everyday ties to family and community provides few advantages to migrate. This, however, changes when one individual in a personal
network has migrated. Those ties are then transformed into a resource that a potential migrant can draw upon in order to gain access to overseas employment and to reduce the cost of migration in general. Every act of migration creates social capital for all non-migrants and increases therefore the odds of their migration. In that way, social networks in the country of origin can develop into migrant networks that link the country of origin to the country of migration and is extensively responsible for the lower costs for migration of a member of that network. Migration is costly for the first migrant that moves without any social ties to a new country. Then, once chain migration has evolved, migrant networks are reducing the costs of migration. The lowered costs of migration increase the attractiveness of migration as a means to diversify risk. Every migrant lowers the monetary costs of migration for a range of persons he/she shares social ties with. Furthermore, the migrant can provide others with trustworthy contacts, information about the recruitment procedure and the new country. By providing a temporary shelter for the first days in the country and by facilitating access to employment through the right channels upon arrival further costs and risks are reduced for other family members or members from the same community who would like to migrate as well. People gain access to social capital through membership in networks and social institutions. Convertibility is seen as the key characteristic of social capital. It may easily mobilize other forms of capital, most often financial capital, such as foreign wages and remittances, or human, cultural and political capital.

This model suggests that international migration tends to expand over time until network connections have diffused so widely in a sending region that all people that wish to migrate can do so without difficulty; then migration begins to slow down. Furthermore, the theory suggests that the size of the migratory flow between two countries is not directly
correlated to wage differentials or employment rates. These variables are seen to be surpassed by the falling costs and risks of movement stemming from the growth of migrant networks over time. Moreover, as international migration becomes institutionalized through the formation and elaboration of networks, it becomes increasingly independent of the factors that originally caused it. However, as Goss and Lindquist point out, as networks expand over time, they may become more selective and competitive, which means access to a migrant network does not necessarily increase the opportunities to migrate.

1.20.4.2. Cumulative Causation

This model argues that over time international migration tends to sustain itself in ways that increases the likelihood of additional movement progressively. Causation is cumulative in the sense that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely. Social, economic and cultural changes that occur with migration brought about in sending and receiving countries by international migration give the movement of the people a powerful impetus resistant to easy control or regulation, since the feedback mechanisms of cumulative causation largely lies outside the reach of government. The point of departure of this approach is that the cumulative effect of individual decisions may over time change the context in which a decision to migrate is made.

1.20.4.3. Theories on Irregular Migration

In the discussion on irregular migrants it is important to note that a person not simply is irregular by the very act of being. Rather a person is made illegal by altering laws and regulations of the country of origin and destination. In regions where there is no legal restriction on the movement of people, the issue of irregular migration barely comes up.
As states, irregular migration principally results from a mismatch between the numbers of Persons wishing to leave the country and the opportunities for legal migration. Irregular migrants can be distinguished along two categories. First, poverty, unemployment and economic hardship serve as the principal push factors for survival migration. Second, lack of opportunities to enhance economic welfare is a pull factor for opportunity-seeking migration. The distinction of irregular migrants into two categories is an important analytical tool to directly focus on the different circumstances and motivations that cause the two types of movements. According to Gosh, opportunity-seeking migrants are more cautious about potential risks and rewards of irregular migration, and are more willing to stay in the country of origin if the risk and punishment of migrating is too high. Survival migrants, however, are more driven by economic despair and risks of punishment and discomfort are less likely to keep them from moving. Furthermore, they are more likely to accept almost any job in the destination country. It is therefore not surprising that most of the irregular survival migrants can be found in low skilled, low-wage jobs.

Irregular migration can be said to be generated by push factors in the country of origin and pull factors in the destination country. While this sounds like a basic neo-classical migration model, it is not. Push factors are poverty, relative deprivation, skewed income distribution, environmental degradation, and ethnic and political oppression and internal violence. These factors go far beyond the simple assumption of the rational individual as a profit maximize. As Gosh states, high economic growth rates can help to eradicate poverty in low-income countries. Nevertheless, this is only going to reduce the migratory push if the growth is more or less equally distributed. Skewed income distribution makes poverty reduction more difficult. In most developing countries low growth and unequal income distribution correlate with high
levels of poverty. A more equitable distribution system may not alone reduce the migratory push, but it will over several years be able to generate a new optimism and feeling of economic security, which can lead to a decline in out-migration. Directly intertwined with unequal income distribution is the relative deprivation. People tend to compare their well-being with their neighbors and an unprivileged position in the social and economic system compared to their neighbors can enhance the wish to migrate. Relative deprivation relates mostly to opportunity-seeking migrants.

Survival-driven migrants are in the most vulnerable position. They may belong to the poorest segment of the population, and they often take almost any risk to enable at least one member of the household to go abroad. Even if the finances are not enough to pay for the trip, often a deal can be made with the traffickers that leaves both the migrant and the family in an ever more vulnerable position.

Poverty and unemployment are generally more important causes to irregular migration than the search for better opportunities. There may also be a mismatch between the level of labour demand and the opportunities offered by the receiving country for legal entry. According to Gosh, it is almost impossible to restrain migrants to come if there is a significant demand for labour; unless the punishment for illegal entry and the employer sanction are exceptionally high. This mismatch can be called the demand-pull in destination countries.

Despite a shortage of labour a destination country may impose rigid limitations on labour migration due to political reasons. Concern about cultural values and national well-being have shown to be reasons to limit the entry of labour migrants.
1.20.4.4. The Human Agency Approach in International Labour Migration

The scholarly literature of Labour Migration to the Gulf Countries tends to look at the phenomena of labour migration in a solely structural way, in which human beings only appear as stock or labour force. etc. The central actors in these analyses are the push and pull factors of economy or demography. Other central actor on the micro- and macro-level can be detected, such as politics, ideologies of governments and different kinds of markets. For that reason, the social anthropologist Longva presents the approach of human agency in international labour migration which emphasizes on the individual itself. The experiential basis as to why people decide to move, stay, remain abroad or return home deserves its own investigation and understanding. To Longva, not only structural incentives and impediments account for these events: Instead, she urges to consider that the definition of the limit beyond which deprivation, becomes intolerable and thus necessitates drastic measures such as migration, as well as the definition of what is good, or worse, necessary, or impossible, to put up with in the host country, are decided by the human beings who appraise their own circumstances, and are not the work of abstract structural forces. Not every potential migrant decides to move abroad and of the ones that do some individuals migrate several times why others do not. There is no doubt, however, about the impact of structural factors and material constraints when it comes to how they influence the decision by individual workers to migrate. However, as Longva points out, these are an external set of variables, which are independent from the individual.

Longva calls on the investigation of the experiential basis of the decision to migrate, to remain abroad, or to return home as an own factor/entity in the study of international migration together with the structural factors that contribute to shaping the decisions themselves.
These are the contemporary theories on international migration that I believe help to identify the patterns of labour migration to the UAE. However, I am aware that for this study not all of these theories necessarily prove to be important for labour migration to the Gulf.

1.21. Migration in the Post-Independence period

Various factors such as language barriers, predominance of Agriculture as a source of livelihood, caste system, the cohesiveness of village life etc have in the past, operated as powerful constrains of migration in the Indian sub-continent. The spread of education, the massive industrial expansion schemes and the steps taken by the national government to inculcate the sprit of oneness among the people of the country were some of the important developments which tended to encourage migration of the people during the Post-independence period. The migration has been confined mainly to the urban centers noted for growth of industries and business. The educated and the professionally qualified have been in the forefront in the matter of migration.

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest State with an area of 2,76,754 sq. km, accounting for 8.4 % of India’s territory. The State has the longest coastline (972 km) among all the States in India. Andhra Pradesh is bordered on the south by TamilNadu state, on the west by Karnataka state, on the north, and northwest by Maharashtra state, on the northeast by Madhya Pradesh and Orissa states, and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. The northern area of Andhra Pradesh is mountainous. The highest peak Mahendragiri rises 1500 m above the sea level. The climate is generally hot and humid. Annual rainfall is 125 cm.
Andhra Pradesh is endowed with a variety of physiographic features ranging from high hills, undulating plains to a coastal deltaic environment. Nearly 75% of its area is covered by the river basins of the Godavari, Krishna and Pennar, and their tributaries. There are 17 smaller rivers like the Sarada, Nagavali and Musi, as well as several streams. Godavari and Krishna are the two major perennial rivers, and with their extensive canal system, provide assured irrigation.

The Total population of Andhra Pradesh is 7621007 in this males is 38527413 and females is 37682594 and the literacy rate 61.55 , the sex ratio is 978 and the total area is 275069 Sq.Kms and they have. the 25 districts in this the study area is in the middle of Rayalaseema ( fig-1). The rayalaseema area consists of Four Districts namely Kadapa, Kurnool, Ananthapur and Chattier districts. In this four districts majority of migrants went to Gulf countries from Kadapa district. In this connection the author made to attempt to study the socio economic development of migrants from Kadapa district.

A number of factors have been at work in transforming Andhra Pradesh as an out migrating state in the Indian Union. The demographic pressure coupled with widespread unemployment has been powerful factors in promoting people to move out of Andhra Pradesh and to seek employment elsewhere. The spread of education to level foe ahead of any country together with the opening of various industrial enterprises in different parts of India has provided the necessary push pull combination of factors for migration from Andhra Pradesh.

Migrants from Andhra Pradesh have been moving far and wide in reach of employment. Almost 50 percent of all the migrants and about 70 percent of the male migrants have been employed in some way or other in the places of destination in industries and services. Another significant pattern has been the migration of entrepreneurs to Tamilnadu and Karnataka and Kerala ( M.A. Oommen, 1981)107.
Figure 1.2 District boundary map of the Kadapa
Kadapa used to send out large number of migrants throughout the pre-independence period (fig-2). Migrants from Kadapa outnumbered their counterparts from Chittoor region in the Gulf area also. The table -1 indicates that in recent years migrants to other parts of India from Chittoor have been numerically larger than those from Kadapa. While more than half of the number of migrant from Kadapa are unskilled workers possessing educational qualification below secondary level, nearly 80 percent of migrants from Chittoor are either skilled workers or persons holding matriculation or above as educational qualification. The actual number of unskilled migrants workers from Kadapa is more than that from Chittoor. The large percentage of migrants from Nalgonda region also belongs to the unskilled category. The table also suggests that significantly certain districts like Chittoor, Nalgonda, Mahaboob nagar and Kumool sent lowest number of migrants to other parts of India or foreign countries.

1.22. Migration in Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh has been experiencing massive migration of its population to the advanced countries of the west and to newly rich oil-surplus countries of the Middle East in recent decades. The migration process is not confined to movements out of India, large streams of people have been moving to other places within the country as well. This flow seems to have begun in the twenties of the 20th century and tapered off by the end of the 1960s. The migrants of the Andhra Pradesh constituted a distinct socio-economic category of peasant farmers. The migration took place for variety reasons. Firstly, the peasant migration took place at a time when the natives of Kadapa had been migrating to other parts of India and to foreign lands. Secondly, the demand for hired labour was increasing on fairly large scale in the
chittoor it self as a result of the opening of the plantations by the European planters since the middle of the 19th century.

1.23. Approaches To Studies On Migration: An Over View

For analyzing factors of migration a number of approaches have been developed in the past. We present here critical review of the major approaches.

Migration is a term which encompasses a wide range of patterns. From the geographical point of view it may involve the movement of people from one locality to another within the country or from rural areas or from rural areas to urban areas. Urban to rural or urban to urban migrations are also possible. On the basis of duration process, migration may be classified into permanent or short term. Short-term migration comprises seasonal migration and circular migration involving the return of migrations to the place of origin. Further, occupations migration can also be thought of which involves shifts from one occupation to others. For example, from agriculture to industrial or service occupations. Occupational migration may encompass all occupational categories: Unskilled labour to specialists and professionals. In short, any movement of persons from their normal place or residence to other places either within the same country or to countries outside with a view to taking permanent or long period residence falls with in definition of migration.

Radical changes in the institutional setup and occupational pattern brought about by the industrial revolution were the starting point of several streams of migration of the modern period. Large number of people used flock from neighboring village to the growing industrial Towns of England since the close of the 18th century (Arthur Redford, 192)\textsuperscript{106}. This 'townward' migration in search of non-agricultural occupations continue to be the main pattern of migration in all countries.
This kind of migration has relieved much of the pressure of population as a result of rural to urban migration in agricultural sector.

Different patterns of migration have existed on different occasions. During the middle of 19th century, the townward migration gained momentum called the trans-Atlantic migration from European countries. This was due to less employment, business venture and other economic opportunities attracted a large number of people from almost all European countries mainly from Ireland, England, Germany, Sweden and Italy (Thamas Brinly, 1961). 109

The American continent has continued to receive fairly large number of migrants even after twenties of 20th century. Since then, a new pattern of migration became popular. The new Patten was known as ‘brain drain’ in which highly trained professionals consisting Scientists, Doctors, Engineers and others moved to the United States of America and other advanced developed countries in search of professional satisfaction and also for monetary gain. Emigration of this pattern has been taking place to all parts of the world including developing nations of Asia, Africa and European countries.

At a time when the townward migration and trans-Atlantic migration were gaining momentum in western countries, another pattern of migration took place in the south East Asian countries. In the wake of the industrial Revolution, the colonial entrepreneurs from various European countries like Mauritius, Fiji, Guiana, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Indonesia. Since the supply of local labour was not adequate, the planters resorted to the import of cheap labour mainly from India and China.

The economic prosperity of the west European nations during the post – second world war period depended to a large extent on the
labour of workers imported from less developed countries like Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco and are manning many industrial and business ventures in West European countries like Great Britain, France, West Germany, Australia, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Sweden (Suzanne, Paine, 1974)\(^\text{110}\).

Migration of a similar nature has been taking place to the Gulf countries since the 'Oil-boom' of the seventies. The Gulf countries including Sultanate of Oman depended on imported labour both skilled and unskilled, to meet the labour requirements for the massive construction works. Large number of migrant workers unaccompanied by their non-working dependents have migrated to those countries from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Korea and Philippines as the wage rates offered in the gulf countries are fairly high compared to those prevailing in any countries origin.

In India rate of growth of population in urban areas is higher than in rural areas. Even within urban areas, it is higher in metropolitan areas than in Cities and Towns particularly after the independence of India.

With increase in the health facilities, reduced mortality rate resulted in increase in population growth in cities. Later on the rate of growth of labour force also increased in urban areas. Therefore, rural labour force migrated from backward rural areas to developed rural areas or to urban areas. Due to the availability of necessary infrastructure for industrial location in urban areas attracted all types of labour force from rural areas and urban areas.

There are number of typologies which have been suggested based on different criteria. An early clarification of migration is given by Fairchild in 1925. He classified migration into invasion, conquest,
colonization and immigration. The criteria underlying this classification were the difference in the level of culture or presence or absence of violence. His typology was followed by many in spite of certain major criticism raised against it.

Kaut, 1953111 presented another Typology which was based on circular movement i.e. pastoral, nomadic, transhumance and areal unit between which migration takes place i.e. interlocal or interregional and intralocal or intraregional. Beltramore pursued the same line of reasoning and classified migration into temporary and definitive and later on into areal unit i.e. extramuros and intramuros.

Peterson’s (1958)112 Topology is one of the best known for analysis of the migration based on which Kosinski and Prothero ( 1975)113 recently developed a more elaborate scheme of migration classification. Peterson utilised a number of criteria in this typology the most important being the distribution between the migration which is undertaken in order to change the way (in narrative) and that which helps to preserve it (conservative). Other criteria include the type of interaction expressed by migration force while result into classes and type of migration. On the basis of this criteria he recognized five broad classes of migration: primitive, forced, impelled, fee and mass.

Kosinski’s multidimensional scheme of types of migration is however one of the recent addition to the existing typologies of migration. As mentioned earlier he based his classification on peterson’s Typology. The major dimensions of his classification are time i.e. temporary, external, area units, decision-making i.e voluntary impelled, forced, member involved i.e. individual, mass, social organization of migration i.e. family, clan, individual, political organization of migration i.e. sponsored, free, causes i.e. economic, non-
economic, aims conservative, innarration. Kosinski's typology because of its wider coverage has more utility than Peaterson.

1.24. THEORY OF MIGRATION: DIFFERENT APPROACHES

1.24.1. Ravenstein’s Laws on Migration

Ravenstein (1885 and 1889)\textsuperscript{114} provided a theoretical analysis of migration for the first time. Through two papers published in 1885 and 1889 he formulated seven laws of migration based on the census report of England (Ravenstein, E.G. 1985). According to him, migration between two points will inversely be related to the distance and migrants will move by stages from nearby towns to distant lands. Movement is mainly to centres of commerce and trade while it accelerates over time as a result of “the increase in the means of locomotion”. He maintained that each stream of migration would produce a counter stream. The propensity to migrate would be more with the inhabitants of rural areas than with those of towns. Among the different motives, the inherent desire in men “to better themselves in material respects” is the most important in influencing the decision to migrate.

1.24.2. Everett Lee’s General Scheme of Migration Analysis

Everett Lee (1966)\textsuperscript{115} forwarded a general scheme of migration analysis. He introduced a simple conceptualization of migration involving a set of factors at origin and destination and a set of intervening obstacles and a series of personal factors. In every area there are countless factors which act to hold people in the area or attract people to it and there are others which tend to repel them. People are indifferent to some others. The effects of these forces varies from person to person depending on his age, experience education, skill, sex etc. He further introduces the concept of intervening obstacles like distance, cost of transport, restrictive immigration laws etc. Which also tend to exert different influences on people. The actual volume of
migration depends on the degree of diversity of area, occupation and size of the population. Migration tends to increase with time and with the state of progress of the country. This theory does not throw much light as to which of the plus and minus factors are the more important to the emergence of different patterns of migration.

1.25. Migration and Economic Development

Arthur Lewis (1954)\textsuperscript{116} has linked the migration with the process of development. They focused on the transfer of low productivity surplus labour from the subsistence sector to the modern sector as a result of the employment expansion of the modern sector.

Michael Todaro (1969)\textsuperscript{117} has formulated another model suitable for analyzing migration originating in the context of rising unemployment. According to him any migration based on rational economic calculations, takes place in response to urban-rural differences in expected rather than actual earnings. Migrants, as decision makers, consider the various labour market opportunities available to them and choose the one which maximizes their expected gains from migration. He maintains that rural-urban migration acts as an equilibrating force. According to him migration is possible even if there is unemployment in the urban sector. The model is applicable only to migration of labour towards urban destinations for paid employment.

Larry S. Sjaastad, the major exponent of the line of approach of costs and returns, regards migration as an activity of resource allocation involving an investment which has costs and which renders returns.(Larry S. Sjaastad 1962)\textsuperscript{118}
1.26. Situational Approach

According to Wolpert (1965)\textsuperscript{119}, migration occurs" when the place utility" in a few location becomes greater than that of the present location. Place utility represents the social, economic and other costs and benefits derived from an "individual's integration at some position in space". The range of alternative will be limited by one's own experience, information available and even position in his life cycle. It is known as situational approach because the determinants of migration such as population, density, political and social structure etc., vary from situation to situation. How the system varies from place to place and the method through which it changes is more important in determining the type and size of migration.

1.27. Historical Approach

According to this approach, any body on migration must necessarily probe into the pressures and counter-pressures both internal and external to the economy which cause changes in the organization of production. It is the historical processes which determine the availability of labour and effect changes in the migration flows. The structural transformation of social setup rather than individual motives assumes priority in any migration stream.

1.28. Marxian Approach

Karl Marx initiated an analysis on migration from a historical angle. His line of thinking is to consider migration as part of dialectical materialism.

The Marxian contention of the law of population relevant to each system of production in history is the basis of historical structural analysis in migration studies. According to Marx when accumulation increases the ratio of variable to constant capital falls and therefore the
demand for labour declines. As Marx and Engel's commented, it is not population that presses on productive power; it is productive power that presses on population (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 1971). Capitalist expansion in production results in the simultaneous conversion of labour force into a marketable commodity ready to be sold and at the same time formation of different categories of surplus labor-floating, latent and stagnant out of the working population. Workers are therefore compelled to migrate far and wide in search of employment. Marxian approach fails to recognize the possibility of the migration of such non-labour categories.
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